

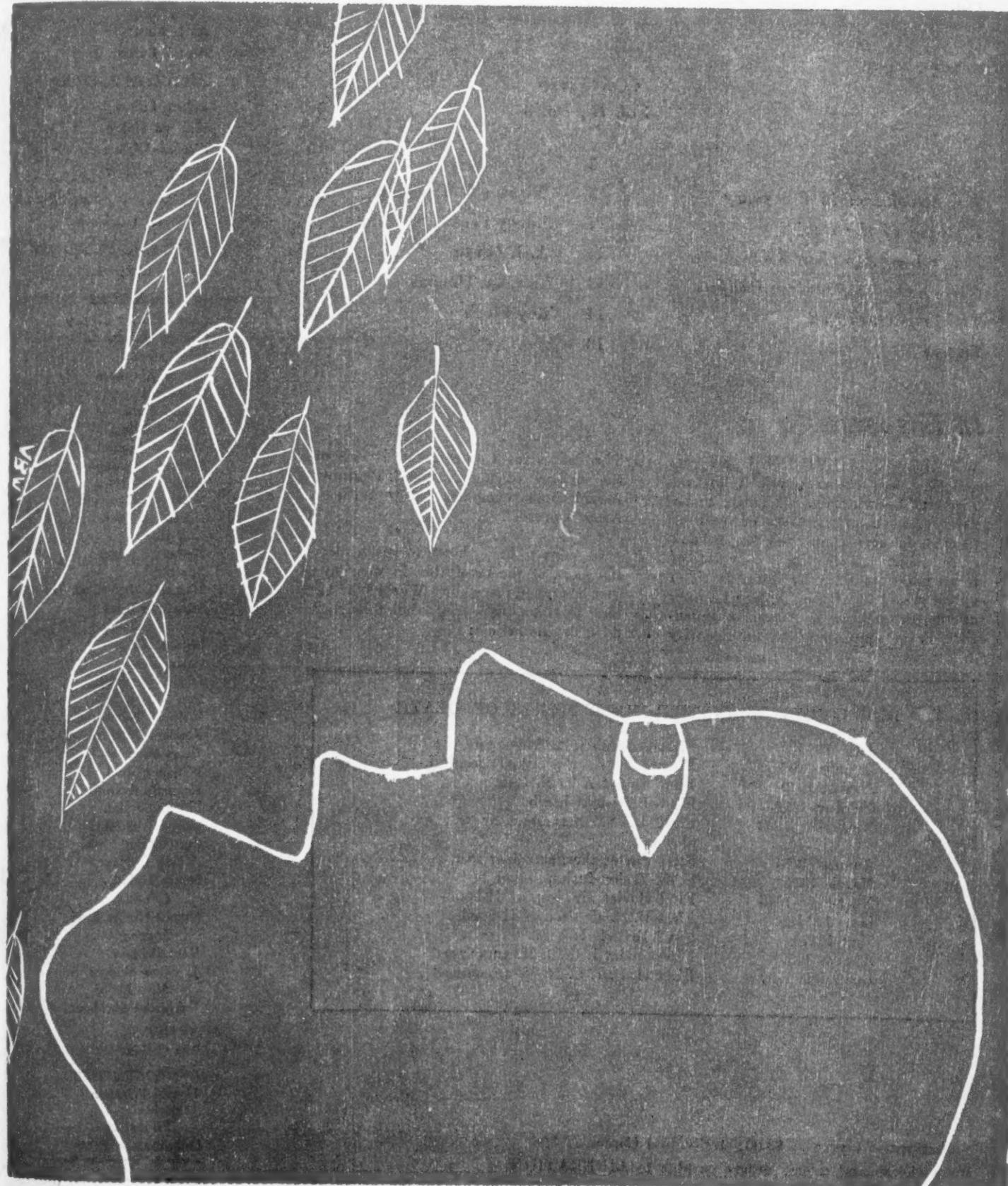
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THE REVOLUTION IN WEAPONRY
DIALOGUE OF THE DEAF

William S. Davidon
NOV 23 1959
Sidney Long

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In This Issue:

WILLIAM C. DAVIDON is an outstanding theoretical physicist at the Argonne Laboratories. Though he refuses to work on the tasks of building thermonuclear weapons, few people know more about the destructive power of these monsters than he does. Davidon is the president of the Chicago Chapter of the Federation of American Scientists, is on the Committee for Security

Through Arms Control, and is one of the authors of the National Planning Association's pamphlet "1970 Without Arms Control".

In order to bring home to our readers the scope of the revolution in weaponry that has taken place since World War II, Dr. Davidon appended the following table to his article:

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INSTRUMENTS OF DEATH

July 1945	First A-bomb test, Alamagordo
August 1945	First A-bomb on a city, Hiroshima
August 1949	First Soviet A-bomb test
October 1952	First British A-bomb
November 1952	First U. S. thermonuclear test explosion
August 1953	First Soviet thermonuclear test
March 1954	U. S. fission-fusion-fission test
November 1955	First Soviet air drop of H-bomb
May 1956	First U. S. air drop of H-bomb
May 1957	First British H-bomb
August 1957	First Soviet I. C. B. M. announced
December 1957	First U. S. I. C. B. M. announced

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editorials

EDITOR FLIES TO AFRICA

One of our editors, Bayard Rustin, left recently to spend six to eight weeks in Africa on work in connection with the Sahara Atom Test Protest project. The project centers around trying to get an international team into the Sahara as near as possible to the spot where the De Gaulle government has announced it will in the near future stage an atom-bomb test.

The project was initiated by the British Direct Action Committee, and two of its leaders, Michael Randle and Francis Hoyland, are already in Accra, Ghana, preparing for the expedition. Michael Scott expects to fly from New York to Accra to join the team as soon as the United Nations sessions on South-West Africa are over. His participation assures the project of a measure of worldwide publicity and very considerable impact among Africans, to whom Michael Scott is a beloved symbol.

Appeals for United States cooperation came to the Committee for Non-violent Action here, but it was recognized that the crucial issue was that of participation by Africans themselves, both on the team going into the Sahara and in supporting non-violent demonstrations all over Africa. In this conviction most urgent requests came from Michael Randle, Francis Hoyland, Michael Scott and a number of others, including some living in Africa, that Bayard Rustin should leave for Africa at short notice. It was pointed out that with his wide experience in direct action here and his acquaintanceship with African leaders, he was uniquely qualified to assist in developing an intensive anti-nuclear war protest throughout the continent.

As has been shown in the protest by the All-Africa Congress against the French bomb test in the Sahara, there is already widespread concern both among the masses and among governmental leaders. Individuals from both groups have pointed out that a major political need now is to build on this concern and spur it into widespread action, so that the sights of the African people may be lifted beyond legitimate concern for independence and the building of their own nations, to vigorous participation in the world movement against nuclear war. A cry from the whole of Africa "Keep nuclear weap-

ons out of Africa and banish them from the earth", would be an omen that France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the U. S., could not ignore.

Thus, after serious consideration, the Committee for Nonviolent Action decided that Rustin should go, and the executive committee of the War Resisters League released him for a limited period, though this involved a considerable sacrifice for the League's program here.

Whether Rustin will join the expedition into the Sahara depends on many factors which remain to be evaluated later.

Funds for Rustin's expenses and for the Sahara project as a whole, which the British Committee cannot carry alone, are needed. (Send remittances to Committee for Non-violent Action, George Willoughby, Chairman, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.).

We trust also that our subscribers and readers will note this new evidence that *LIBERATION* is a constant participant and a significant factor in the struggles of our time, and not a mere academic observer. We hope this will move them to send *LIBERATION* the financial support which it needs to keep going, as well as money to promote the magazine and increase the circle of its readers.

THE EDITORS

STEEL CRACKDOWN

Was President Eisenhower really neutral in the steel strike, as he claimed to be? Or did he from the start accept at least tacitly, the economic philosophy of the companies?

There has never been much doubt that the steel companies welcomed the strike as an opportunity to deplete their over-heavy inventories and at the same time save labor costs and put the pressure of economic pinch on the steel workers. This was part of a not concealed understanding in the business world that the time had come to "put labor in its place". The theory behind this was that, with a sympathetic administration in Washington, fear of inflation, and public apathy (due partly to revelations about union corruption and racketeering), the companies would be in a better position to stand a strike than the unions. Many powerful business interests have gone even further and maintained privately that "what the country needs is a little bit of depression"

in order to break the labor psychology which expects continuing wage rises as a "normal" pattern.

This is what has made the steel strike particularly important and, as Walter Reuther has pointed out, one of the most important strikes that has taken place in many years. It could set the pattern for what happens in a dozen industries and hence for the future of labor over the next decade. It came at a moment of crisis in labor-management relations when a whole trend was at stake.

It is against this background that the President's bringing pressure to bear to settle the strike must be seen. This pressure came at the point where it would do the least harm to the companies and the most harm to the union. When the inventories had been depleted and the companies were ready to settle, then the administration stepped in. In other words, at the point where the strike was beginning to take effect, the government suddenly woke up and said that the country could not stand a longer strike. The country could stand a strike as long as the companies could, but apparently not longer.

Mr. Eisenhower is not a business man. (At one point during the war he made the suggestion that there should be a \$20,000-a-year ceiling on *all* incomes, a suggestion, which, if he had pressed it, would almost certainly have cost him the Presidency later on.) But he has accepted the business philosophy that sound economics require a freezing of the *status quo* in the labor-management field. The more compelling fact that sound humanity requires a closing of the gap between profits and wages escapes him. Labor itself too often falls victim to false "economic" arguments. The problem is, not to "put labor in its place", but to "put the economy in its place". If it requires a labor party or a labor administration to do this, it is time that labor itself started thinking in these terms.

R. F.

LOUD ACTIONS

The headlines have carried a number of items recently which bear on the question whether international relations have entered a new phase, whether what has been called "the spirit of Camp David", where Mr. K. and Eisenhower conferred, is being

applied. Some have to do with Russian and Chinese actions which seem to indicate that the "Cold War" is still on. No doubt it is a good idea to take note of such signs and we shall not lack for commentators who will.

Having been brought up on not forgetting "the beam in your own eye", we have noted a couple of items relating to United States behavior. For one thing, the Administration has made an agreement with Turkey which provides for the establishment of I. R. B. M. (intermediate ballistic missile) bases in that country, from which, of course, they can be easily lobbed over on Moscow or Kiev.

The United States government is steadily moving toward equipping the Adenauer government with nuclear bases and weapons. In addition, the New York Times reports that "U. S. armaments manufacturers have begun to pour massive amounts of capital and technical experience into the reviving West German arms industry." All the big United States aircraft and electronics corporations appear in the Times's list.

The private enterprisers who manage these corporations are proverbially smart and realistic. The motive which impels them to invest in the German industry is "the widespread conviction that the Bonn republic is destined to become a major weapons producer".

It is also well known that these men have access to high government officials in the United States and Germany, access such as ordinary citizens and peace organizations do not have. What they have learned from these contacts leads them to believe "that West Germany is now *irrevocably committed* to the build-up of a major arms-building capacity." [italics ours].

In the meantime, Alfred Krupp, the leading German free-enterpriser, who served a jail sentence as a Nazi war criminal, has rebuilt and enlarged the Krupp coal and steel empire and is no doubt ready to do his patriotic part in furnishing the Adenauer government with arms.

In face of developments of this kind, the United States government maintains the fiction that it is Khrushchev and the other men in the Kremlin alone who create a crisis over Berlin and Germany generally, and apparently the vast majority of Americans believe this. Heaven knows, there is a case against the Soviet regime; but in view of the German role in the World Wars and

other considerations, does the Soviet government not have a case for regarding the Turkish and German developments as provocative and not at all in the jolly "spirit of Camp David"?

As if to make it possible for even the blind to see the truth, the United States State Department is currently engaged in an effort, which apparently got into the papers by mistake, to stop the British government, no less, from letting the Castro government in Cuba have fifteen British Hunter jets in exchange for some old British propeller-driven Sea Furies. We are very sensitive about any development at our own doorstep, want to "keep down tension in the Caribbean region", according to the State Department's press officer. It is, he plaintively relates, "no secret that the U. S. does not like and is unhappy about arms shipments into this region!"

We expect the Russians not to be sensitive about developments, on or near their borders, which involve in military potential a million times more than fifteen jet fighter planes.

Is this, then, the old macabre business of muted and confused talk about disarmament while we brazenly pile up armaments and the clamor of our warlike actions drowns out our talk of peace? A. J. M.

ALGERIAN BOOTY

It is to the credit of the National Liberation Front of Algeria (F. L. N.) that it is willing to accept General De Gaulle's recent proposals as a basis for negotiations.

But the game that the French President is playing in that unhappy country should be called: "How to Grant Political Self-Determination While Maintaining Economic Strangulation." At long last, after five years of fighting and hundreds of thousands of deaths and casualties, the head of the French state has finally recognized the principle of self-determination. No one will quarrel with this; it is a step forward. But it is always much easier for "statesmen" to yield on principle than on riches.

The General offers three alternatives to the Algerian people, each of which would end with the booty safely in French pockets. Once Algeria is "pacified"—once, that is, there occur less than two hundred deaths a year in the war—De Gaulle insists on a period of up to four years as a breathing spell. Then he is willing to permit the ten million Algerians to vote for either assimilation, internal autonomy or secession. As

similation, of course, is the formula that currently prevails: Algeria is considered part of metropolitan France rather than an independent country. Internal autonomy would give the nation certain autonomous rights within the French Community, much as Senegal, the Ivory Coast or Mauritania have now. France would continue to control economic development, education, foreign affairs and defense. This alternative is better than assimilation and perhaps would be accepted today—but not after four years. It could hardly be more than a transition step under any circumstances, however, just as with the eleven other members of the French Community in Africa today. Almost all of them are dissatisfied with "Community" because it has given them little in the way of economic development, and leaves the major controls in French hands.

Only the third possibility, secession, is attractive to the Algerian people. But here the wily General hedges to the point where it becomes a meaningless concession. In the event the Algerians chose to secede they would have to divide their country into four or five separate republics. The population would be regrouped ethnically so that the million *colons* would control their own, rich country, while the rest of Algeria would be broken up, much as were French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, into three or four small and economically unviable units. As for the oil of the Sahara, now under development—on that point De Gaulle leaves little room for discussion: it must remain French-owned.

Secession under such circumstances would mean economic death for the Algerian people. It is of the same mold and with the same aim in mind as that of the South African *bantustan* plan—to place the native people in their own, poor, separate "countries". The riches of Algeria would remain with the French or the *colons* of French descent; the barren soil in the hinterlands would go to the nine million people, hopelessly divided into un-workable sovereignties.

That the United States has been so quick to give De Gaulle's plan an unequivocal O. K. will make few friends for us in Africa. It will prove to the African once more that even where America is willing to break with the colonialism of its allies, it defends their economic interests against those of the native peoples.

S. L.

THE REVOLUTION IN WEAPONRY

William C. Davidon

IT IS ONLY fourteen years since the first A-bomb explosion; few of us realize the magnitude of the revolution in weaponry which has taken place since then. Throughout all the previous millenia of man's development, the concentration of energy in his fuels and explosives had not appreciably changed. The explosion of a pound of TNT releases less energy than the burning of a pound of wood. But the fission of one cubic foot of uranium, which has taken place in single nuclear explosions, releases about the same amount of energy as all the bombs and shells that have been used by all countries throughout all the wars of history.

The nuclear explosive actually fissioned in the first atomic explosions at Alamagordo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki would in each case fill about three tablespoons. Even if other developments were not compounding the immensity of the problem, even if serious efforts were being made to inform men of their significance, fourteen years would be a short time for entire populations fully to comprehend so complete a break with the past. The essential consequence is this: that nations after several thousands of years no longer provide tangible defense for their citizens. In a world in which destruction in so concentrated, instantaneous, and total form is available, tangible defense has essentially been abandoned; it has already been replaced by reliance on the rationality and control of other men and their political and military systems.

Consider first the effects of a "small" atomic bomb, exploded underground on September 19, 1957, and described by former A. E. C. Commissioner Willard F. Libby as "about as small as has been fired" up to that time. This "little" atomic bomb was smaller than most of the weapons that are now called "small, tactical" weapons. It was more than ten times smaller than the Hiroshima bomb. The amount of nuclear explosive involved would not quite fill a teaspoon. But this "little" explosion released about three times the total explosive energy of all the bombs dropped on London during the biggest raid on that city in World War II. It crushed four hundred thousand tons of rock and produced earthquake effects that were registered over two thousand

"I happened to read recently a remark by the American nuclear physicist W. Davidson (sic), who noted that the explosion of one hydrogen bomb releases a greater amount of energy than all the explosions set off by all countries in all wars known in the entire history of mankind. And he, apparently, is right."

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, in his September address before the United Nations, in which he advocated total disarmament in four years.

miles away. It produced shock waves in the earth clearly distinguishable from earthquakes hundreds of miles away. A year and a half later, the temperature of the rock in the neighborhood of the explosion was still close to 180 degrees Fahrenheit. Explosions thousands of times larger than this one can be produced by a bomb small enough to be carried in a fighter plane.

The effects of H-bomb explosions have been carefully measured. They have been described in "The Effects of Nuclear Weapons," published by the United States Printing Office in 1957, in "Nuclear Explosions and their Effects," published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi, India, in "1970 Without Arms Control," a National Planning Association pamphlet, and elsewhere.

Though atomic bombs ten times the size of the one dropped at Hiroshima have been reported, they are small compared to H-bombs. When a big H-bomb is detonated, it is turned into a ball of gas, at a temperature of millions of degrees, within a few millionths of a second. More energy is concentrated into a region of a few cubic feet for a brief instant of time than is consumed by the less industrialized half of the entire world's population in a year; more energy than is generated at Grand Coulee dam during a year. The material and energy in those few cubic feet begins to spread outward at speeds of hundreds of miles per second, and in less time than it takes sound to travel one foot in the air, the ball of intense blue-white gas grows to more than two hundred feet across.

Thirty-five per cent of the energy of the H-bomb is given off as light and heat from the expanding fireball. Like the light from a lightning flash, it reaches out for many miles around long before any sound is heard. People would be roasted alive by the searing blue-white light in complete silence. Temperatures of thousands of degrees are reached on the ground below. As the fireball continues to grow, it acts like a gigantic blowtorch applied to the buildings and inhabitants of a city. When, at the end of about ten seconds, it reaches its maximum intensity, it would appear to an observer a hundred miles away about a hundred times as bright

as the sun. The skin of a man twenty miles away would be charred. Tons of incendiary bombs would have to be dropped on every city block over an area of a thousand square miles to equal the death and destruction by heating and burning, from one big H-bomb. Twenty miles from the explosion, thirty fires per block would be started in "good" residential areas, and about two hundred per block in slum areas. The fireball forms a gigantic "hot air balloon," with enough lifting power to carry the entire population of either the United States or the Soviet Union into the stratosphere. The 1954 explosion at Bikini carried millions of tons of vaporized and pulverized material many miles high.

But only thirty-five per cent of the energy from the H-bomb goes into heat and light; fifty per cent goes into the blast and shock wave that follows in the wake of the heat and light. For an explosion near the surface of the earth, the blast, combined with the intense heat, would carve out a gigantic crater, excavating millions of cubic yards of buildings, earth, and human beings. The crater from one multimegaton H-bomb would encompass more than a hundred city blocks; it would have a depth at the center of more than two hundred feet; around its edge would be a mound taller than a five-story building. Into such a crater, you could throw the Pentagon, the Empire State Building, Chicago's Merchandise Mart, and the pyramids of Egypt, and still have room left over. In most of the large cities of the world, the crater would slowly fill with water. At the rate of a thousand cubic feet of water per second, it would take roughly a month for it to fill up.

The blast wave initially travels outward faster than sound, yet for nearly ten seconds it retains the power totally to destroy blast-resistant reinforced concrete windowless buildings; during this time, it would destroy over a thousand city blocks. After ten more seconds, travelling at the speed of sound it would sweep over an area of fifty square miles, still with enough power to destroy blast-resistant buildings. Half a minute after the fireball had set fire to distant objects, the blast wave would still be spreading, totally destroying wooden frame houses over an area of three hundred square miles. A minute later, people in outlying areas who would not yet have heard a sound (though they might have been burnt by the flash) would finally experience the blast and sound, which would by then have spread out over one thousand square miles, and would still retain the energy to damage the roofs of houses and blow down interior partitions.

These would be the remains of a city after an H-bomb explosion: its center turned into a volcanic lake, total destruction of all buildings and structures over many thousands of blocks, the entire city on fire. In the city of New York, an estimated seven and a half million casualties would result from a single large H-bomb, or several times the combined total of the American

casualties in the Revolutionary War, Civil War, World Wars I and II, and the Korean War.

Though light and heat, blast and shock account for most of the energy of the H-bomb, they do not necessarily account for most of the deaths and damage. For though only the remaining fifteen per cent of the bomb's energy appears as nuclear radiation (five per cent initially and ten per cent residual), the fallout carrying the residual radiation is among the most potent poisons known. The explosion of March 1, 1954 covered seven thousand square miles with lethal amounts of radioactive fallout. The total land surface of the earth could be covered by eight thousand such explosions. Existing stockpiles have been estimated to be of this order of magnitude (probably larger in number, though containing many smaller weapons).

Though the destructiveness of weapons has already reached proportions beyond the comprehension of many, new developments are underway. The production of missiles ready to be fired on a moment's notice will make possible their development in mountain caves, under the Arctic ice cap, aboard submarines, and in many concealed places all over the earth. As small devices with tremendous destructive power are made, the mining of the ports and cities of the world will become increasingly feasible, making it possible to blow them apart without even the need for a bomber or missile, but only for a hand on a distant switch, or the operation of a timing mechanism. New biological and chemical weapons may permit not only the smallest nations, but even non-governmental criminal gangs to cripple large areas. France and China have nuclear reactors in operation producing plutonium, a nuclear explosive, and are expected to test their first A-bombs of independent manufacture within a year or so. Plans are under way to make nuclear-armed missiles available to the armed forces of half a dozen countries.

Yet if we do not let it be snatched from us, we have the opportunity to build a vigorous, purposeful, interdependent world society, with unequalled opportunities for seeking new knowledge of the world and ourselves, for establishing love and respect for other men. We now have the sources of energy to free men from inhuman drudgery. With our growing ability to cure disease, to produce food abundantly, and rationally to control birth rates, we need no longer be pressed constantly towards squalor or privation. We are achieving a unifying understanding of the world in which we live, far transcending the limitations of any one man's experience. Faced with a world in which genocide, torture, and the degradation of individuals have become widely tolerated, we cannot afford simply to concern ourselves with the applications of science to weapons and technology, while neglecting its potentialities for giving greater scope, vigor, and unity to life.

DIALOGUE OF THE DEAF

Sidney Lens

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV's thirteen-day visit to the United States offers poignant evidence that after twelve years of Cold War the combatants are not even speaking the same political language. Newspaper columnist Marquis Childs aptly described the confrontations between Khrushchev and American dignitaries as a "dialogue of the deaf."

The confusion of America as it came face to face for the first time with the spokesman for world Communism was monumental. Three hundred newspaper reporters dogged the Russian leader, hanging on every word as if it were coming from Mount Olympus. Each night the not-to-be-outdone television industry placed before the screen such world-shaking events as Khrushchev examining the butt of a slaughtered cow. Americans needed to convince themselves of their sense of fair play—as if to say: "See, we reported every word, we listened to every speech, and we're still opposed to Communism. We heard his proposals about disarmament with our own ears this time, rather than through the newspapers or second-hand from our State Department, and we ourselves could see they were only 'propaganda.'"

The air was filled with mystery: was this man really as monstrous as our propaganda had pictured? As belligerent? As warlike? Each of his words was juggled in a dozen different newspaper columns, looking for clues. Having peddled childish anti-Communist cliches for twelve long years, the nation was finally confronted with a mature—if un-ideological—defense of Communism. There was something worrisome about this defense: it punched holes in many a State Department image of the enemy.

Being immature in its anti-Communism, the United States had nothing but negativism to throw at Khrushchev. The Russian, speaking before the United Nations, proposed a simple disarmament plan that in four years would lead not only to the dissolution of all military forces except those needed for internal policing, but would liquidate general staffs, military educational institutions and war ministries. This certainly was a consummation devoutly to be wished in an era when hydrogen bombs can destroy half the population of each power in a single day's raid. But the American answer to the plan was that it didn't provide for "adequate inspection and control."

This wasn't entirely true. Khrushchev did state that he would extend inspection and control as the pace of disarmament accelerated; but he opposed inspection and control without significant disarmament. On October 9th, before the U. N., Kuznetsov, deputy Russian foreign minister, implemented the proposal by sug-

gesting an international control organ to be given all facilities including aerial observation and photography, plus the right to punish violators. This surely is worthy of further consideration. But assuming that Khrushchev didn't suggest adequate check-up, assuming that his talk was only "propaganda," what proposal did America have to offer in its place? None. Secretary of State Herter, a little more polite than his predecessor Dulles, said that the Khrushchev plan was an "effort of mankind to reach the solution of one at least of the major problems of the world . . ." But he immediately added that "it is in its details something that can be looked at with skepticism." His verdict was the usual one that Khrushchev was only making "propaganda." Unfortunately the State Department had no counter-propaganda of its own. It presented nothing new to the public by way of resolving the arms dispute or any other political dispute.

The British press was unanimous in criticizing American behavior, and justifiably so. As a people we were unable to settle on an image of the enemy. For more than a decade we have been spoon-fed an image of Communist Russia as warlike, itching for battle, preparing to attack the United States and conquer the world. Now came Khrushchev—undoubtedly to dispel that image and put before America an image of moderation. Every second word off his tongue was "peace." He didn't grovel before his hosts. He criticized their system, but he insisted on the need for co-existence as the alternative to co-extinction. After he had left the country, a new image of Russia began to appear. Vice-President Nixon, speaking in Chicago, stated that Khrushchev wanted "some lifting of the armaments burden on Russia" so that he could provide more consumer goods for the people. There was, he said, a good chance for a disarmament agreement. Walter Lippmann noted that "the U. S. government . . . has for some considerable time realized the Soviet need for peace and Mr. K.'s intention to avoid war. In fact, the President would not have invited Mr. K. to come to Washington had he not been certain that the Soviet Union and Mr. K. want to avoid war not because they love but because they themselves need years of peace in order to do what they have set themselves to do." This Russian attitude, says Lippman, has "injected an element of sincerity and credibility into Mr. K.'s persistent appeals for peace."

Which image of Russia then are we to accept? That of a nation eager to fight at the drop of a hat, or one anxious to avoid war at almost any cost? A decade of McCarthyism and our inability to look at Communism objectively have plunged us into utter perplexity. We have become prisoners of our own cliches.

The Lost Leaders of Labor

Perhaps nowhere was this more evident than in the attitudes of America's labor leaders. George Meany, generally accepted to be under the influence in foreign affairs of ex-Communist General Secretary Jay Lovestone, said that he wouldn't be caught dead in the same room with Khrushchev. An A. F. L.-C. I. O. resolution—unanimously passed—made the assertion that Khrushchev is "more truculent and demanding in his aggression than Stalin."

This is the kind of nonsense of which gibberish is made. Khrushchev is certainly no angel. The dark stains of blood on his hands from his Stalinist past in the Ukraine and from his role in Hungary will not wash off easily. But it is folly to close one's eyes to the changes—for the better—under the present regime. Every sensible person knows that purge trials have ended, slave-labor camps been liquidated, writers given a little more elbow room, workers more benefits. The Russian government is drawing up legislation for a 40-hour week (reduced from 48) and speaks of a six-hour day in 1964. These are all improvements, and they should be recognized as such. That there still is no *habeas corpus*, free press, civil liberties and legitimate trade unions in Russia is regrettable. But before one speaks on so important a subject as the character of Soviet policy, one ought at least to put his finger to the wind to see which way it is blowing.

The dialogue between Khrushchev and seven union leaders, who evidently were willing to be "found dead" in the same room, was the most revealing event of the whole trip. The *dramatis personae* itself was most interesting. Included amongst the seven were one leader who was in the same union caucus with the Communists in 1937, and two who had been virtual Communist stooges for some years in the early C. I. O. days. This may explain in good measure why they found it necessary to "prove" their fealty to free enterprise and the State Department. Their own transcript of the meeting indicates how far they went out of their way to be boorish and rude, in order to prove that they were true carriers of the holy grail against Communism.

Before the confrontation got under way, Walter Reuther called in the press and briefed it on what he intended to discuss; after the session was over, he gave the newspapermen a summary of the talk. Influencing Khrushchev in a private exchange of views seemed to be irrelevant to the "more important" goal of "putting him on the spot." The transcript of the discussion reads very much like an exchange between Stalinists and Trotskyists in the ultra-leftist "third period" of Stalinism.

"You are hopelessly sick with capitalist fever," said Khrushchev. "So you have credentials to speak for the workers of the world?" asked Reuther. When con-

fronted with the crime of Hungary and the murder of Nagy, Khrushchev could only retort: "Don't mix good things with dirt. Have we exhausted the Hungarian question?" The whole tenor of Reuther's and Jim Carey's remarks was a total defense of U. S. foreign policy. Their only word of criticism was an offhand remark that they had opposed the U. S. role in Guatemala. They were adept in bringing up the exploitation of the East German workers and other ills of Communism, but if they had a word of rebuke for western exploitation of colonial people it wasn't recorded. Reuther needled Khrushchev for "penetrating economically and subverting politically." When Khrushchev asked in return "what kind of penetration" the United States bases around the world were, Reuther changed the subject.

Heedless of the militaristic policy of the U. S. and its support of dictators from one end of the globe to the other, Reuther could say blithely that "the only war America wants to fight is war against poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease." And Khrushchev, equally with tongue in cheek, could claim that the "German Democratic Republic (East Germany) is based on the most democratic foundations."

From every angle this was a dialogue of the deaf. Reuther and Carey kept hammering away at the fact that Khrushchev's proposals did not call for "universal inspection and control." The Russian replied: "Have you been asleep all this time? That is what we are for. I am sure you haven't read my speech . . . What the Americans propose is control first, and then disarmament. What does this mean? Nothing. Let us station our [Russian] bases in Mexico and Canada, then maybe you will have understanding." To which Carey replied with the age-old charge: "Propaganda." Khrushchev charged the unionists with being "capitalist lackeys;" the unionists levelled at him all the charges against Communism that have become traditional. Most were valid points, such as the lack of legitimate unions, the crimes of Stalin, Hungary, and so on, but presented within a framework of whitewashing U. S. foreign policy, they sounded venal and unrealistic. On balance the unionists came off worse than the Russian prime minister.

Khrushchev has come to America at a moment when world Communism is beset with a basic internal dispute. One wing of Communism wants a hard policy—Molotov, Mao and others. Another is looking towards liberalization—Tito, Gomulka, the Polish revisionists, the imprisoned liberal Communists in East Germany—and, oddly enough, Khrushchev. When I was in Yugoslavia two years ago, I asked one of the high-ranking party leaders who they considered their closest ally in the Russian hierarchy. The reply was Khrushchev. The Yugoslavs have little faith in his theoretical ability;

they don't trust him too much personally; but they feel that as against the other presidium members, he wants most to modify the system away from Stalinism.

Khrushchev's very visit implies a serious revision of traditional Communist theory. Under the standard dogma it is inevitable that capitalist nations, driven by the need for markets and exploitation of colonial areas, must plunge ahead to war. By proposing "competitive co-existence"—and proposing it "sincerely," if Walter Lippmann is right—Khrushchev seems to be saying that capitalism no longer needs war as an "extension of politics by other means."

Under the circumstances Khrushchev was, and is, entitled to a more attentive hearing. Those who consider this "appeasement" are mechanically accepting the terminology of the past. Chamberlain in 1938 was an "appeaser" because he agreed to territorial grabs by Hitler in Czechoslovakia and Austria. He agreed to the remilitarization of Nazi Germany. But we are not asked now by Khrushchev to agree to any new land grabs that Roosevelt and Truman didn't yield in wartime agreements. We are not asked for re-militarization formulas, but de-militarization ones.

By agreeing to disarmament America would not be strengthening the harsh aspects of Communism but would be seriously moderating them. Already Khrushchev has attempted to stay the hand of a more aggressive

One of the Soviet citizens who accompanied Premier Khrushchev on his recent trip to the United States was Mikhail Sholokhov, author of And Quiet Flows the Don, The Don Flows Home to the Sea, and other novels. During the course of his visit, a meeting was arranged in Washington between Mr. Sholokhov and a group of seven prominent American intellectuals. In a front-page headline and in the news story, by Harry Schwartz, that followed, the New York Times made much of the fact that Mr. Sholokhov had characterized his compatriot, Boris Pasternak, as a "hermit crab". The Editors of LIBERATION wrote to Richard Eberhart, the poet, who was present at the meeting, asking for his impressions of Mr. Sholokhov. Mr. Eberhart stressed that he sent in his reply, which follows, as a citizen and not in his capacity as Consultant in Poetry at the Library of Congress.

At the meeting in Washington with Mr. Sholokhov I felt the language barrier. There were one or two who knew Russian but the others did not. Thus one never knew whether the meanings were passing back and forth accurately through the interpreter. There was considerable talk before the term "hermit crab" was brought out. Incidentally, the conversation about Pasternak took up a few minutes in a meeting of about an hour and a half, yet the New York Times played this up in space. I suppose news is always slanted in some way and that the only news stories which would be true would be verbatim reports.

Here is an example of the difficulties of such a meeting. I suggested through the interpreter that Mr. Sholokhov's notion of character seemed to be not "in depth", that he described and narrated actions on a vast, panoramic scale, but that one did not discover depth-motivations because of

Mao in China. The Soviets, according to Vice-President Nixon, tie up one-fourth of their productive facilities in armaments. If that were cut back it would result in more consumer goods and a more relaxed political atmosphere inside Russia as well as in the satellites. The "softs" and the "revisionists" within Communism would be favored against the "hards" and the "Stalinists."

Here in the U. S., disarmament would help release our citizenry from the grip of military domination. It would send thousands of generals, admirals, *et al*, packing. It would reduce their towering influence in civilian government. It would render less effective the military-big business alliance which defends conformity and the status quo.

Khrushchev has begun a process which we must welcome. We need not embrace this man. We need not approve his behavior either in part or in whole. But if he bridges the gap in political language he has already achieved something. He has helped begin the process of talking together in common terminology. Perhaps in time we will dispense with the phoney militancy of so many of our leaders, which is a relic of our McCarthyist past, and start thinking in terms of real militancy—to outdo the Russians in our appeal to underdeveloped nations, to outdo them in the pace of development and in humanizing our social system.

the objectivity of the writing. I told him that I had enjoyed his work, if only recently encountered, wondered how much had been lost in translation, and asked him two questions. One, did he think that my expression, somewhat as above, was correct as to his type of writing, that it was declarative, panoramic, and objective as distinguished from subjective elements also provided in Tolstoy and Dostoevsky as novelists and, two, did he elect to write the way he did?

The answer, through the interpreter, made me think that he had not understood the term "in depth." His unexpected, pithy reply was that "I give the roast beef, not the hamburger", which he said right after saying that he elected to write the way he does. My reaction at the meeting was that the Western meaning of "in depth" had not got over to him, but subsequently I have wondered whether he understood it and was offering a criticism of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. How is one to know through the language barrier?

I also asked him about poetry in Russia, was surprised at his statement, if understood, that there is almost as much poetry written as there is prose. Assuming a state publishing control, I asked whether if a young poet were turned down on his first book of poems on judgment of quality he had any recourse? Mr. Sholokhov said that the usual procedure was for young poets to send poems to magazines and subsequently to offer their poems for book publication. He said that there were numbers of publishers in Russia and he mentioned several. He said that eventually if the poetry were good the poet would find a publisher.

The meeting was better to have had than not at all. Mr. Sholokhov was impressive, well-poised, serious and friendly without being outgoing. Perhaps by outgoing I mean effusive.

Richard Eberhart

NOT SO LONG AGO

A. J. MUSTE

Autobiography: Part 20

Incidents in Turbulent Days

THE YEAR AND THREE QUARTERS (March 1933-December 1934) which began with my departure from Brookwood was one marked by intense and almost uninterrupted participation in the mass struggles of that period—it was also the first year and three quarters of F. D. Roosevelt's first term—and equally intense and seemingly continuous involvement in political discussion and maneuvering. The political activity, which led to the transformation of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action into the American Workers Party, and, not long thereafter, to the merger of the A. W. P. with the Trotzkyist Communist League of America (the merger taking the name Workers Party of U. S.), I shall describe in the next installment. Here I want to describe a few incidents in the mass struggles which may serve to communicate something of the atmosphere of those days and to identify the role played in them by a number of figures with whom *Liberation* readers will be familiar.

I happen to be writing this installment on the thirtieth anniversary of the great crash of October 1929. This may serve to remind us of the great contrast between our time and the 1933-4 period. The actual conditions were still much the same as in the panic years. Only the atmosphere was different, because there was an impression that the situation was now mobile. But where things were going was still wholly unclear. It was not, it should be noted, until 1936-7 that deep inroads were made into the hosts of unemployed, that the unions in the mass industries succeeded in establishing themselves, and that the sustained climb to high levels of production got under way. It is well to recall that this was also the time when the Roosevelt administration began to push the defense budget up and worked out the foreign policy which was bound to bring the United States in due time into World War II.

It requires a considerable effort of imagination even for those who lived through the depression to make that experience vivid again. Perhaps younger readers can get some idea of what it was like if they will imagine that the nation was in a state of civil war—civil war which was not sectional as in 1861-65 and therefore did not present the picture of two organized armies in formal battle, but which was a war nevertheless, a war in which every city and section of the country was rent with deep cleavages and in which there was a good deal of fighting, though the guns were almost entirely in

the hands of the police and the National Guard. Another useful comparison is with Southern cities today, where racial division puts up barriers through which there is hardly any real communication; paralyzes the respectable and moderate sections of the community and makes them feel and act like helpless onlookers at a mad battle; makes the supposed guardians of law and order the armed foes of the oppressed; and creates continuous and almost unbearable tension which, now here, now there, erupts into open violence.

One of the ways in which men and women sought in this period to defend themselves was by means of various kinds of organizations of the unemployed. Those which were directly organized by the C. P. L. A. and its successor A. W. P., or in which these organizations exercised substantial influence, were called Unemployed Leagues. They were to be found in such widely scattered parts of the country as Seattle; Los Angeles; St. Louis; Southern Illinois; West Virginia; Pittsburgh; Allentown, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. The Leagues, for the most part, had to act directly in local situations, in preventing evictions (e. g. moving furniture back into homes as fast as sheriffs moved it out), compelling authorities to raise the amount of relief a little bit, preventing discrimination against active members of the Leagues, and so on. The Leagues therefore had to have strong local backing and leadership, though outside organizers could be helpful. Since appropriations had to come out of state funds, the next step was to organize State Unemployed Leagues, which sponsored marches on state capitals. Efforts to set up national bodies also had to be made, but it is obvious that in a situation where League members often literally could not pay five cents a week dues, no formidable state or national structures could be built. The genius of all the unemployed organizations was in organizing direct action on the local level.

On July 4, 1933, in the State Fair Grounds at Columbus, Ohio, the National Unemployed League was organized. Hundreds attended the convention and there were moments when it seemed touch and go whether it would break up or not. There were representatives present of the Unemployed Councils, which were under Communist influence and direction. They proposed the usual merger or at least "united front", and that was a ticklish matter to handle in a gathering largely made up of politically untrained people. One of the C. P. youths

present was John W. Gates, as he has mentioned in his autobiography. Later he became a C. P. leader and editor of the *Daily Worker* and is now one of the many who have left the C. P. and one of the considerable number who have seriously criticized it and have renounced some of their former views.

The main threat to the Columbus convention came from another source, not clearly identified, but almost certainly a few operatives of some detective agency hired either by political figures or by business interests to provoke a riot and thus break up the convention. The effort failed, basically I think because of the hold certain leaders had over the rank and file of the unemployed on account of the sacrificial and vigorous way in which they had backed local struggles. One of them was William Truax, a former sub-district mine-union official, who knew the Ohio scene thoroughly. Another was Arnold Johnson, a recent Union Theological Seminary graduate, who had begun work in a Columbus church but soon found his energies entirely absorbed in Unemployed League work. Johnson was one of the Workers Party leaders who later joined the C. P. and who, unlike Gates, for example, is still in it. Much as I have differed with him through these years on his views and activities, I do not doubt that throughout, as in 1933, he has acted on the basis of deep inner convictions and with no qualms about paying a steep price for being true to them.

I think it was almost immediately after I left Columbus that I was driven by one of the Unemployed League local leaders to Toledo, where one of the early struggles that led to the founding of the United Automobile Workers Union took place. It was a strike against the Auto-Lite Company, a big producer of certain automotive parts and accessories. The head of the company was also the dominant figure in one of Toledo's big banks, which had gone bankrupt, as a result of which hundreds of families were in the direst circumstances.

Some days earlier, Louis F. Budenz, who had gained new fame as an organizer and leader of mass demonstrations of hosiery workers in Kenosha, Wisconsin, had come to Toledo as representative of the C. P. L. A. I think none of those who had a chance to observe Budenz's work in those days would question the verdict that he was a genius at organizing mass activities. Though in many respects a weak person, and certainly not physically impressive, he was transformed the moment he got up before a crowd, and was able to fire it with enthusiasm and determination. In a mass situation he was also personally courageous.

Not as a result of deliberate planning on anyone's part, but as an expression of the pent-up suffering of many years and the resentment of large sections of the Toledo population, including Auto-Lite employees, the latter, with numerous allies had attacked the Auto-Lite

plant in the late afternoon a few hours before I approached Toledo in a car that seemed ready to fall apart at any minute. Practically every window in the front of the big plant had been smashed. The militia had been rushed in when the police were unable to cope with the situation. They stood the crowd off and eventually drove them back some distance with tear gas. As we neared the city, the sky was occasionally lighted up with flares sent up by the soldiers to enable them to see whether fresh attackers might be gathering behind the trees or in nearby streets. After I got into town and contacted some of our C. P. L. A. people, we went to the scene of battle. For some time I stood behind a tree within sight of the militia, contemplating that eerie spectacle and wondering whether the soldiers might try to encircle the neighborhood and round us all up. They did not. By the middle of the night everyone was pretty much exhausted and moved away, leaving the soldiers "in peace".

Charles P. Taft and the Press

I am not sure at the moment whether it was in connection with the Auto-Lite strike or another strike in Toledo during the same period that there occurred an incident involving Charles P. Taft which merits recording. Taft is the well-known civic reformer and churchman, brother of the late Senator Robert Taft. At the time of the incident he was one of the Federal mediators sent to Toledo to seek the termination of one of those bitter struggles which preceded the organization of the U. A. W. In Toledo we had a local group of remarkable young radicals, a number of whom have continued thorough the years to be active in the labor movement. One of them, Ted Selander, was particularly active on the picket line and as a general organizer. One afternoon he was arrested and taken to the city jail. It was pretty general practice in those days (not only in Toledo) for the police to rough up strikers who had been arrested. Because of Ted's prominence, we feared he would be badly beaten if he was not released on bail before nightfall. Finding that we did not seem to be making progress with police officials, I decided to telephone Charles Taft, who knew me personally.

At first, when I asked him to call the chief of police and show an interest in Selander's prompt release, he said that this was not the sort of thing a Federal mediator could properly take up. I told him that there might be bitterness and a serious flare-up of violence if Selander were badly hurt, and that this might well have a bearing on the prospect of an early settlement. He granted that this was so, and said he would see what he could do. Selander was released shortly thereafter.

However, in the course of our telephone conversation, Taft had remarked that there was no justification for the strike anyway, the context making it clear that he

thought little or nothing of the workers' side of the case. I began to reflect on this and concluded that this was a queer attitude for a supposedly impartial mediator to take, and that under the circumstances he could not be expected to deal fairly with the case for the workers. On further reflection, I decided I could not let this pass. At the very least, I should be in a precarious position if it became known that I had been aware of the mediator's attitude in advance and had kept it to myself. A couple of the strike leaders with whom I conferred agreed that something had to be done.

I called Taft again and reported this to him. He conferred for a moment with colleagues in his hotel suite and then asked if I was willing to come up in a couple of hours for a conference. He also asked me not to do anything further until then. I agreed.

When I stepped into the mediator's suite at nine o'clock I found already there not only Charles Taft but another Federal mediator, the editors of the local papers, the representatives of the national press services, and a couple of special writers who were in town. One of them was the famous columnist Heywood Broun, who was a good friend of mine.

Taft reported, with complete accuracy, what he had first said to me over the telephone and our subsequent conversation. I have always respected him for this. He could simply have denied that he had said anything of the sort, claiming that I had "misunderstood" him; most politicians probably would have done just that. He had made a bad slip and risked prestige in that gathering by frankly admitting that he had. Then he went on to say that he really did not consider himself disqualified as a mediator and that it would obviously be bad public relations and might have an adverse effect on the strike negotiations if the situation were made public. He therefore suggested that I say nothing in public, though not seeking to bring special pressure or pleading with me, and asked the newspaper editors and reporters present not to publish anything about the matter, even if I did make a statement. All of them indicated that they would keep still, except for Heywood Broun, who said it seemed obvious to him that if I made a statement it would be significant news, and he would have no choice but to report it. I said that I would have a statement within an hour.

In the statement I reported what Charles Taft had said in the original telephone talk (omitting any reference at that time to the later conference) and expressed the opinion that this might well disqualify him for serving on this particular case, pointing out that in any event the workers and the general public should know the facts in order to be able to judge for themselves. Neither of the Toledo dailies published a thing, nor did the press services carry a word. Consequently, no paper carried a news story. Heywood Broun duly

reported the matter in his next column, which did not, however, appear in print until four days later, a weekend having intervened.

Overthrowing Illinois

After the close of the Auto-Lite strike, which had naturally received a great deal of publicity and had intensified the jitters from which Middle Western employers suffered in those days, I went to central and southern Illinois to report on the strike, especially to our groups in the mining towns. It was soon apparent that I was being followed. Much of the trip was made in the company of two young miners, one of whom, by some stroke of luck, had a new car. One lovely summer morning we arrived soon after dawn at Belleville, Illinois, not far from St. Louis. We drove to the outskirts of the town, where there was a struck metal plant. Everything was quiet there. The plant was closed down tight. A couple of strikers were stationed nearby as observers. We talked to them briefly and then my companions and I sat down on a soft grassy spot, quietly conversing. Incidentally, one of my companions that morning was a handsome young miner, Jimmy Cross. He is the James Cross who later became president of the Bakery Workers Union, which was expelled from the A. F. L.-C. I. O. because he and the union failed to "clean house" in accord with the ethical-practices requirements of the federation. I think that Cross is the only Brookwood graduate who achieved personal wealth and adopted the style of living which we had associated with the most deplorable type of labor leadership.

All the time—an hour or so—during which we had been in that pleasant spot, a police squad car had been parked near by, and three policemen had stood or sat around in leisurely fashion, just like ourselves. We might have been two groups taking it easy in a public park. Then the three policemen came over to us, asked who we were, looked at our C. P. L. A. membership cards, which were red in the fashion of those days, and announced that we were under arrest.

After some hours in the cells at police headquarters, we learned that there were two charges against us. The first was vagrancy: being "without visible means of support". This was absurd, since I had money enough in my pocket for train fare back to New York and one of us had proof that he was the owner of a new car—and not the cheapest on the market at that! The other charge was violation of the "Treason Statute" of Illinois, i. e., conspiracy "to overthrow the state of Illinois by force and violence". The statute was a leftover of the anti-labor hysteria following World War I. This was, of course, a very serious charge, and so bail was set at twenty thousand dollars in my case, and at ten thousand dollars each for the two young miners.

We spent three or four days in the county jail—not

knowing for some time whether any of our friends were aware of our plight. However, they did know and under the leadership of Agnes Burns Wieck got this fantastic sum of forty thousand dollars, most of it from an elderly German-American with a radical background in Germany, who had prospered even in those hard times as a junk and scrap dealer. Agnes Wieck, mother of our LIBERATION author, David Wieck, was a fiery and highly effective leader in education and organizational work among the Illinois miners.

American Civil Liberties Union lawyers from St. Louis stepped into our case, which also had the backing of the influential St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. The vagrancy charge was quietly dropped at the preliminary hearing, but I was held on the "treason" charge, in spite of the fact that the hearing had been comical.

The arresting officer, having testified that we had

been doing nothing illegal or in any sense disturbing at the struck plant, was asked why he had arrested me. He answered: "I thought that any preacher who was travelling around like that so far from his home must be up to some mischief." He may have had something there.

The treason charge hung over me for nearly a year. Then the A. C. L. U. was informed that it had been dropped. Our friend the junk dealer, who had fled from Germany to escape persecution, had not forgotten his youthful experience in his prosperous old age. Up to the time he came forward and offered the bail he seems to have had no contact with radical activity over here. He risked more than money in suddenly appearing out of nowhere with nearly forty thousand dollars. He got his money back and then went back into the obscurity of an aged junk dealer's life.

To be continued in next issue.

An Open Letter to American Pacifists

If I thought that my heart and conscience were the heart and conscience of America, I would risk a dramatic act of disarmament down to a police level unilaterally, not only as good in itself but perhaps as the best way to win a mad world to reason. Short of that, I might do what Kennan so eloquently suggests and support unilateral nuclear disarmament. Logically, however, as I have told Kennan, I do not think you can get that now that atomic energy is so much a part of our technology except as part of a pretty complete and universal disarmament.

But I am operating primarily on the political level and to my sorrow lack the full assurance of religious faith which some of you have. I think we do have to think in terms of the long view and the educating of people along lines on which we want to educate them, and on which the pacifists are doing a notable work. Nevertheless, politically I think our best hope of persuading the American people to support disarmament is in terms of disarmament from strength; that is, a mutual disarmament. While I do not believe that deterrence through balance of terror can last indefinitely, I do think it has had some effect in preventing a great war. Hence, I would still say that my political emphasis and the emphasis I would urge in the Socialist Party would be general disarmament, not unilateral.

I would suggest to pacifists of various shades of opinion that they have to give a little more consideration than they have done to arguments that we are morally committed to defend the liberty of people outside our borders. I think one can make a pretty strong case that the best defense of one's own country against a conqueror from without would be along Gandhian lines or along lines Commander Stephen King-Hall urged in England. That leaves the problem of help to other peoples, to Hitler's victims, for instance, in World War II. Possibly to West Berliners and so forth. We have got to perfect not only the negative argument that the nuclear war simply means general destruction but a positive argument concerning alternatives and concerning a general foreign policy which does take account of the Communist record of aggression. Here more thinking and work need to be done by all of us.

NORMAN THOMAS



THE LIBERATION POLL

Roy Finch

The Editors wish to thank John Dickinson of Cambridge and Harvard University for coding the Readers Poll which appeared in our May issue, for checking and supervising the punching of the machine cards and for interpreting the results. A wealth of data was obtained due to the care and skill with which he handled the material supplied by our readers. We also wish to thank again all those who filled in the lengthy questionnaire.

THE RESULTS obtained from the LIBERATION Poll are based on 220 replies. This is an excellent return for a magazine questionnaire, in view of the length and complexity of the questions. A handful of readers objected to LIBERATION taking such a poll. But this objection is scarcely valid since readers were not asked to put their names on the questionnaires, so that no "invasion of privacy" was involved. It is impossible to tell, of course, how typical the replies are of the general readership. The distribution of the replies, however, suggests that they are reasonably characteristic.

In the coding there were 66 questions identified in the Poll. For the purposes of this report these may be grouped into eight broad categories, with a ninth category for additional comments.

1. *Who Reads LIBERATION?* What stands out about our readers is their surprisingly high education level. No less than two-thirds of those replying (148) list themselves as college or graduate school graduates and, in fact, there are more graduate school graduates (78) even than college graduates (70)! The sex distribution is also striking, showing an unusual number of young men under 29 among the readers (53) and very few young women (9). In general many more men replied than women—163 men as against 57 women. Proportionately women readers appear to be older than the men.

The occupation spread is very broad, covering just about every type of work, but the concentration is strongly in the professional area. The largest single occupation listed is "teacher" (35) and the next largest "student" (26) followed by "housewife" (16), "clerical" (12) and "writer" (10). Those involved in scientific

or technical work number 23 as against only 7 in the arts. There were only 3 farmers replying and less than 20 who could conceivably be classified as manual workers. Social service work and trades and crafts each had 13.

The Poll indicates that LIBERATION readers are predominantly an urban group, considerably more than half (132) living in cities of over 100,000 population. The remaining 88 are almost equally distributed among rural areas (23), towns (19), suburbs (24), and small cities (21).

Most of our readers are married—147, as against 62 single and 11 divorced, widowed or separated. Ninety-three of the married people have two or more children. The median family is two children.

With regard to employment status, 130 describe themselves as "employees" and only 6 as "employers", while 31 are "self-employed." No less than 7 persons are both "employees" and "self-employed"! There are 10 who indicated that they have "independent incomes" (6 of these being women) and 6 who are "unemployed".

The median average income is in the \$3,000 to \$5,000 range. Three-fourths of those replying have incomes under \$7,000 per year, probably fairly close to the national income distribution figures. As against 54 persons who reported incomes of less than \$3,000 a year, there were 17 in the over \$10,000 a year group. In addition there were 58 between \$3,000 and \$5,000; 54 between \$5,000 and \$7,000 and 20 between \$7,000 and \$10,000.

2. *Political and Religious Orientation.* Readers were asked to indicate which they favored: "capital-

ism," "socialism," "mixed economy," "Communism," "cooperative communities?" The most significant result here is that the readership split almost down the middle between "socialism" and "mixed economy". Only 5 persons voted for "capitalism" and only 2 for "Communism." By far the most popular designation, however, is "cooperative communities". Almost half of those replying (107) check this, 53 of them checking *only* "cooperative communities" and 54 checking it along with one or more of the other designations. The split between "socialism" and "mixed economy" is shown by these figures: 44 persons choose "socialism" alone and 21 choose it along with something else, while 41 persons choose "mixed economy" alone and 33 choose "mixed economy" with one or more other designations.

Under "Political Parties" "None" is the largest category being chosen by 63 persons and this figure may be supplemented by the 50 persons who give no response at all to this question. Next come Socialists with 44, Democrats with 36 and Republicans with 8. A significant number of readers went out of their way on this question to write in their feeling of the need for a new party. In addition many who checked "Socialist" or "Democrat" wrote in qualifications.

Given the choices of checking "pacifist," "conscientious objector" and "anarchist," the largest number of readers (64) checked both "pacifist" and "conscientious objector". The next largest group (59) checked *only* "pacifist", while 30 checked both "pacifist" and "anarchist". In all, 42 persons accepted the designation of "anarchist", but only 7 chose that alone. There were 16 who chose "conscientious objector" alone.

Almost two-thirds of the readers (142) did not reply to the question about union membership and consumer and producer cooperatives. There are 38, however, who indicate membership in consumer cooperatives and 34 who hold union cards.

A pronounced split shows up on the religious question. Well over half (129) describe themselves as "religious," as against 87 who are "atheist" or "agnostic". But between the two groups, the "religious" and the "non-religious," the balance is held by those who are "religious but non-church-goers" (38). The largest single group are liberal Protestants, with only a scattering of those belonging to other groups. There are 38 "atheists" and 49 "agnostics". Only 4 people failed to reply to this question, as against 50 who did not answer the one on political parties.

3. *Organization Membership.* The basic figures for organizational affiliations show: Fellowship of Reconciliation—83; War Resisters League—74; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—60; Committee on Racial Equality—51; Friends—50; SANE—37; Peacemakers—32; United World Federal-

ists—18; Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation—17. There are 44 persons who do not indicate membership in any of these organizations. Another 60 filled in additional organizations under the heading of "other," the American Civil Liberties Union being the most popular. There were 75 people who checked three or more organizations.

4. *Other Magazines Read and Preferences.* The magazines most read *regularly* by LIBERATION readers are in order: *Fellowship*—79; *Catholic Worker*—76; *Progressive*—75; *Peace News*—57; *Reporter*—52; *Nation*—47; *Peacemaker*—48; and *Dissent*—36.

This question also asked about magazines read *occasionally* and about magazines preferred to LIBERATION. The magazines read most occasionally were: *Reporter*—62, *Nation*—62, *New Republic*—62; *I. F. Stone Weekly*—58; *Progressive*—53; *Dissent*—48; *Fellowship*—43; *Christian Century*—41 and *Catholic Worker*—37.

There were 28 persons who wrote in the word "None" when asked which magazines they preferred to LIBERATION, and another 89 who did not list any other magazine. This appears to indicate 117 people, or more than half of those who returned questionnaires, who do not prefer any other magazine to LIBERATION. Those magazines which were preferred most frequently to LIBERATION were: *Progressive*—20; *Nation*—17; *Fellowship*—12; *Catholic Worker*—11; *I. F. Stone Weekly*—11 and *Freedom*—10.

If the total number of mentions of a magazine in all three categories (regularly read, occasionally read and preferred to LIBERATION) is computed, the most popular magazines with our readers are: *Progressive*, *Fellowship*, *Nation*, *Catholic Worker* and *Reporter*. This, of course, is misleading because it does not weigh the three categories according to their relative importances.

An interesting comparison (possible because of the use of the punch cards) between the "religious" and "non-religious" groupings and the magazine preferences reveals that it is the more religiously oriented people who tend to indicate the strongest preference for LIBERATION over other magazines, while with the "agnostics" and "atheists" the proportion of those who list at least one other magazine as preferred to LIBERATION rises.

5. *Opinions on Controversial Questions.* Nineteen questions were asked about controversial matters.

Perhaps the most intriguing result here was the degree of "patterning" in the responses. For example, to take the extreme case, it was found that no less than 4 individuals, not evidently connected with each other, give identical responses to all 19 consecutive questions! On the sex questions the largest group (77) says "yes" to all four questions, defending the rights of individuals to all these forms of sex behavior. The next largest group (23) defends interracial marriage but opposes

premarital and extramarital sex and homosexuality. There are 107 persons who defend individual's rights to extramarital sex and homosexuality, while 43 are opposed to both.

These questions about sex revealed a very interesting set of correlations with political orientations. There was a strikingly higher percentage of "socialists" who defend extra-marital sex and homosexuality than there was of "mixed economy" people or "cooperative community" people. Whereas 27 per cent of the "mixed economy" people and 21 per cent of the "cooperative community" people are opposed to both, only 9 per cent of the "socialists" are opposed to both. Eighty per cent of the "socialists" defend homosexuality, while only 59 per cent of the "mixed economy" people defend it. The total number of those who defend homosexuality is considerably larger than those who defend other extramarital sex, since there are 28 who defend the former but not the latter. In percentage terms this is 60 per cent defending homosexuality as against 52 per cent defending extramarital sex. (It has been suggested in this connection that with married people extramarital sex strikes closer to home! Actually, however, it is the single people who defend the right of homosexuality more than the married people. About 75 per cent of the single people defend homosexuality with 16 per cent opposed and the rest not replying. Among the married people, on the other hand, 60 per cent defend homosexuality with 23 per cent opposed, and the remainder not replying.) Of the 220 persons replying to the questionnaire, 218 indicated by a check that they supported the right of interracial marriage. The other two did not check the question at all; one of them wrote in: "opposed to all marriage."

On a later question as to whether LIBERATION should "reject worthwhile articles that contain 'four-letter words'" it is interesting that there was large preponderance (82) of those who said "No" while only 11 said "Yes". On the other hand, 117 did not reply.

On the question of conscription for war and conscription for peacetime emergencies, the largest number (128) are opposed to both. The next largest number (59) are opposed to conscription for war but in favor of conscription for peace time emergencies. Only 5 are in favor of both. There are 17 who oppose war time conscription, but are apparently undecided on peacetime conscription since they fail to check any response.

There is almost universal rejection of loyalty oaths for non-security governmental employment, and of governmental denial of passports for political reasons. An overwhelming majority of readers also are opposed to Civil Defense drills and capital punishment and in favor of socialized medicine, unilateral disarmament and world government. There is more opposition and hesitation on world government (29 opposed and 43 not replying)

than on socialized medicine (19 opposed and 27 not replying).

The most disagreements among the respondents come on the questions of compulsory school attendance, spanking children and jazz. There are 127 who say they do think a democratic government should compel school attendance, while 71 do not think it should and 22 are undecided. Opposed to spanking children are 103 readers, while 62 are in favor of it and 55 do not reply. On the question of jazz, 115 are in favor of it, 34 are opposed and 71 indicate neither. The patterning which in some respects is very pronounced on some of the other questions tends to break down on these three.

6. *Radical Activities.* Approximately half of those replying have had some degree of involvement in one or more of the radical activities listed (Cheyenne Anti-Missile Protest, Walks for Peace, Act for Peace, Golden Rule, Youth March for Integration, Civilian Public Service, war objector in prison or KPFA). There are 72 persons who participated in one or more of the Walks for Peace, more than half of these also contributing to it, and another 41 who contributed without participating. There are 106 who participated in or contributed to Act for Peace and/or the Golden Rule, and 71 who participated in or contributed to the Youth March and/or Civilian Public Service.

Among those replying are 21 men who were in Civilian Public Service work for conscientious objectors during World War II and 8 men who were in prison as conscientious objectors. There are 19 persons who have participated in three or more of the activities listed and 46 who have contributed to three or more. One person replying has contributed to seven of the activities! As against all this it should be borne in mind that slightly more than half of those who filled out questionnaires have not participated in, or contributed to, any of the activities.

One of the most surprising results of the entire questionnaire showed up at this point in figures showing the correlation between preference for LIBERATION over other magazines and degree of involvement in radical activities. Taking the 28 persons who wrote in that they liked "None" better among magazines than LIBERATION as having the greatest of identification with this magazine, and the 89 persons who listed no other magazine as preferred as having the next greatest identification with LIBERATION and finally the 103 persons who listed one or more other magazines as preferred to LIBERATION as having the least identification with LIBERATION, and then correlating these figures with a scale of increasing involvement in radical activities, the unexpected result appears that those persons who are *most* identified with LIBERATION show the *least* involvement in the activities which LIBERATION supports. The statistics for this result are borne out for each one of the activities

listed. In each case it is those who seemingly least prefer LIBERATION who, proportionately, are most involved in the various activities.

7. *Likes and Dislikes about LIBERATION.* The most popular thing about LIBERATION is its "point of view." There are 126 persons who choose this as "what do you like most about LIBERATION?" Next "most liked" were LIBERATION's "radicalism" (89), "originality" (84) and "editorials" (83). Other items in the "most liked" category were "unexpectedness" (31), "format" (30), and "poetry" (24).

Under the heading what do you like least about LIBERATION "poetry" is overwhelmingly the "least liked" with 69 persons giving it this designation. Only 6 persons liked the "point of view" least and only 8 persons the "radicalism", while 17 liked the "format" least. A. J. Muste's Autobiography was chosen as "most liked" by 65 and "least liked" by 21.

Most replies show the readers "first heard about LIBERATION" either from a "friend" or from a "mailing". Comparatively few heard about it from an "advertisement". (LIBERATION has not had the funds to do much advertising and welcomes money specifically designated for that purpose.) A copy of the magazine, the poll shows, is read on the average by two persons. Three persons say their copies are read by 10 persons. One reader indicates that her copy is sent abroad to a discussion group of 12 persons.

To the questions "do you know other LIBERATION readers? would you like to?" only two persons say they would not like to know other LIBERATION readers. There are 136 who say they already know other LIBERATION readers and 81 who say they do not. Of the 136 there are 65 who would like to know still other others and 71 who "don't care". While of the 81 who don't know other LIBERATION readers 45 would like to and 36 "don't care".

8. *Favorite Articles and Authors.* By far the most liked article that has appeared in LIBERATION, according to the poll, is Harry Elmer Barnes's article on Revisionism. There are 26 persons who list this among the articles they "especially liked". Other articles that received more than ten mentions are Bagby—*Behind the Scenes with the Beats* (16); Hoffman—*Trapped by Thomas Jefferson* (15); Muste—*Autobiography* (14); Bigelow—*Why I Am Sailing* (13); and Dellinger—*Not Enough Love* (11). In all, 31 articles are mentioned more than three times each. Only about half of those replying, however, answered this question. Naturally, there was a tendency for the more recent articles to be fresher in people's minds. The oldest article receiving more than ten votes (Bigelow) appeared 16 months before the poll.

There are 121 authors listed by the readers as those they would like to see published in LIBERATION. Milton

Mayer was mentioned no less than 31 times, three times as often as any other author. The poll indicates that he is by far the most popular author among our readers. Other authors who are recommended for LIBERATION more than five times each are: Dorothy Day, Erich Fromm, Aldous Huxley, Sid Lens, Dwight Macdonald, Henry Miller, Lewis Mumford, A. J. Muste and Pitirim Sorokin.

Many valuable suggestions were written in under the heading of "some articles you would like to see in LIBERATION". Many readers indicated that they would like discussion of immediate problems confronting individuals (raising children, schools, home life, etc.). But an almost equal number want more discussion of political action and the "situation on the left". "More search for new directions for radicals"—is the way one person puts it. A number of readers are interested in articles on the history and prospects of pacifism and of anarchism.

9. *General Comments Written In.* Additional comments and criticisms appear on the questionnaires. Under "like least", for example, appear such criticisms as these: "occasional sentimentality," "occasional pettiness," "radical cliches," "dry articles," "writing down to the reader," "so damned indefinite," "quality of writing must be improved," "too much anarchist material," "tone of moral superiority is self-righteous," "too much religion," "once in a while give a rosy picture—there must be some spots where things are right," "should have more wry humor—should be less ideological and more practical," "sedate legalism, defensive pacifism, slow rhythm". A number of readers complain that the magazine is "too thin"—something of which the Editors themselves are all too aware. We can promise a larger magazine if and when we get more funds!

On the positive side these comments appear under the heading of "like most": "LIBERATION keeps my conscience bothered in general"; "I like LIBERATION best for its knack for occasional touching on the really basic aspects of human existence;" "breadth of material covered;" "worthwhile when taking up where other periodicals draw the line;" "an excellent job . . . very much appreciate your general approach and viewpoint;" "I find most of your articles absorbingly interesting and stimulating"; "my only objection is that there is not enough of each issue."

Because of the extensiveness of the material this report is only a summary of highlights of the results of the questionnaire. The cross-indexing permits a good deal of further study and additional conclusions can be drawn. In general, the Poll shows the value of comments and suggestions from readers to editors. We hope that our readers will not wait for a future Poll before sitting down to write their thoughts.

LETTERS . . .

Dear Editors:

West Springfield, Mass.

I had planned to answer the rather impudent questionnaire (May 1959) but lost it and forgot about it until I read the letters protesting it. I think there should be one on how we think of World War II, *a la* the National Council for Prevention of War's 1920 one on who was to blame for World War I.

I've thought Dr. Barnes's two pieces and the rejoinders to the first one, the most interesting LIBERATION has published. Certainly the most necessary as I listened to the youngsters at the annual meeting of the War Resisters League.

As regards the John M. Muste letter (September 1959) on the last Barnes article: If writing plainly and not in the usual doublespeak manner is "venomous and boastful" in newspeak, let's have more of it. Until now I did not know I admired "poor writing". To chide Dr. Barnes for not including the history of the reoccupation of the Ruhr, the Italian-Abyssinian war, the Spanish Civil War, the *Anschluss* and Chamberlain's gift of Czechoslovakia in a short magazine article is the sort of below-the-belt fighting these "liberals" go in for. I remember being asked once to document the anti-semitism of a friend to prove he was not anti-semitic! They think by asking you to do a ridiculous, time-consuming job (which is usually beside the point) you lose the argument by default when you don't do it.

Yone U. Stafford



Dear Editors:

New York

Have just read Roy Finch's "Rejoinder to Jack Jones" in the September LIBERATION. (This discussion is extremely interesting and useful and I do hope it continues.) May I make one comment: Finch says "Reason can never lead to freedom. Freedom has to be something you start with, not something you arrive at. There is absolutely no way to make the jump from planning to spontaneity unless you have made room for spontaneity at the outset."

The catch here is that today, in our own society as well as in the U. S. S. R. (and elsewhere) spontaneity is no longer an important value. The task for analysts is to discover the factors which have led to a general development toward totalitarianism—techniques and attitudes. (It seems to me that Orwell has done the best work here—although some science-fiction writers have made brilliant deductions, and extrapolations.)

As I see it, we have to start from the fact that in developing our American society and culture we *did start with freedom*. In Soviet Russia they started with virtually total compulsion. Today, however, the two societies are converging.

The Communists in the U. S. S. R. chose totalitarian compulsion (techniques and attitudes). In our own country, totalitarianism has developed without any recognized intention, and—in fact—the development itself is largely ignored. And this means that in order to understand totalitarianism the place to start is our own country. It may well be that totalitarianism is the logical sort of social and political organization for a scientific-machine-power society. The machine creates the society; and the values develop automatically. Those who reject machine-made values must figure out ways of organizing a society which can use the scientific-machine techniques to supply basic necessities as a special kind of culture within, and subservient to, a totally different sort of society. The development of nuclear energy (if the

problem of poisonous wastes could be solved) would make possible an entirely different sort of social, industrial and political organization. For example it would be possible to locate all the power-production and mass-production industries in a chosen region of our country—and the power and goods distributed by pipe-lines, underground rockets, and so on. This region would supply the basic necessities for the entire country. In the rest of the country an entirely different sort of society could develop. In other words, we are going to have to segregate machine-power, and reduce it to the status of servant, before we can even begin to develop a satisfactory way of life.

There is no point in dismissing such comments as *not practical*. The *not practical* is what our militarists and scientists and industrialists do every day. Who, ten years ago, would have said it was *practical* to be planning to send a young American into orbit around the earth? What we need to do is to start thinking about how we can *tame and use* our science and technology instead of letting ourselves be enslaved by them.

Helen Mears



Dear Editors:

Anderson, Calif.

The two articles by Roy Finch and Jack Jones in the Summer issue of LIBERATION certainly are thought provoking I am sending for the original essay by Jones.

At first blush I am inclined to agree more with Finch than with Jones. I find Jones's idea about "Ideology in the Fourth Dimension" a bit hard to grasp. I am left in the dark as to just what he wants us to do to prevent war.

Under the "Reasonable but not Rational" heading I read—"this combination" (by the Communists) "of blackmail and ideological pressure will in the end prove irresistible, within the present complex of Western ideas." and then "—on the other hand it needs no more than some acceptance of the single idea that reason is not freedom but virtue, to effect enormous consequences. Only a relatively slight change in this regard might be enough to prevent the war." Now, from a functional standpoint, (Jones always insists on the "functional" interpretation) just what does he want us to do!

At the end of the article he says "—the rational detour is not the goal and does not lead to it." Freedom, being, I gather, the goal, (some of the meanings of terms in this article leave me a bit uncertain) what is the main road that leads to the desired goal?

E. Whealdon



Dear Editors:

Kyoto, Japan

The September issue is a remarkable intelligent thing; and the three essays relating to the Jack Jones article are really stimulating. Keep up that sort of thing and LIBERATION will be playing a really unique—and called-for—role amongst anarchist-pacifist publications. Enclosed is \$1 for about 5 copies of the A. J. Muste reprint "Getting Rid of War"—after postage, whatever's left over can be considered a contribution.

Gary Snyder

Dear Editors:

Hollywood

Kindly send us 100 additional copies of the pamphlet, "Getting Rid of War", and bill Steve Allen.

Marilyn Cluckier
Secretary for Steve Allen

Dear Editors:

London, England

Please supply as quickly as possible 100 copies of "Getting Rid of War" by A. J. Muste and send us your invoice.

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Dear Editors:

Philadelphia
Here's a dollar for a dozen copies of A. J. Muste's "Getting Rid of War". Congratulations on producing this splendid pamphlet.

Congratulations also on some splendid editorials and articles on race relations. It was particularly refreshing to query myself on whether I, a pacifist, was willing to be a Negro (September 1959).

George C. Hardin
Friends Peace Committee

(Editors' Note: Readers can still get copies of A. J. Muste's forceful new pamphlet "Getting Rid of War" (10c each, 12 for a dollar) but there only a few hundred copies left. Order from LIBERATION, 110 Christopher St., New York 14, N. Y.



Dear Editors:

Louisville, Kentucky
I think LIBERATION Magazine has made a major contribution to the whole current discussion of non-violence as it relates to desegregation with the publication of the exchange between Robert Williams and Martin Luther King, Jr.

This is to request your permission to reprint excerpts from both the Williams and the King article in the *Southern Patriot*—with credit, of course, to LIBERATION. I believe every one of our readers would be interested in this discussion.

I want to tell you too how good I thought Dave Dellinger's editorial on the subject in the September issue was. The reference to Carl and me, I have to admit, embarrassed me—things like that always do, because I never feel that we are doing all we should do, and in truth there are many people who are doing more. But I thought the central point in this editorial simply excellent—something that badly needed to be said. In fact, it seemed to me that the editorial was the most thoughtful and profound comment I have seen anywhere in this whole debate.

Anne Braden

"Childhood at Winterstar"

Dear Editors:
Uckfield, Sussex, England

I read with great interest Anna Greenbough's article on the "Winterstar" community in the September issue of LIBERATION, but I feel she tends to give the wrong impression of what communities are really for. A community is not a rest home for tired radicals, though it may perform that function among others. Its primary purpose is to provide a nucleus for a new form of human society. We know how civilization itself spread from a number of village settlements in the river valleys of the Middle East, extending its frontiers eventually to the ends of the earth. This civilization was, and is, authoritarian. The new civilization, of which the libertarian community is intended to be the nucleus, should be peaceful and non-authoritarian.

Probably the failure of so many community experiments is due to precisely the escapist attitude so well described by Anna Greenbough. People join them in order to get away from the old rather than to start something new. The outlook of those wishing to found a successful dynamic community, one that will reproduce its kind and cause the community idea to spread, must be totally different from this. To make a success of community living would require as much courage as to fight for reforms in the outer world.

She appears to me to set up a false antithesis between the community and the "real" world. The community is of course as much part of reality as the rest of the world. It has to fight, as she herself has shown, against the prejudice of

the local people, and against the reactionary tendencies of its own members.

No one would deny the value of fighting for social reform in the world at large. The community has a part to play in this. It should serve as a base of operations, a place where libertarians and pacifists can visit one another, where a library can be set up, where meetings and conferences can be held, where groups and organizations can have their headquarters, etc., etc. Furthermore it is an example of how peaceful cooperation can work. After all, if one criticizes existing society one may legitimately be asked, "Can you, and those who agree with you, do any better? Show us an example."

Arthur W. Uloth

Dear Editors:

Burnsville, N. C.
I have just read, with mixed pleasure and dismay, "Anna Greenbough's" charming story of "Winterstar". While names are changed, the geographic location of the community is so well pin-pointed, and documented with well-known landmarks that anyone cursorily acquainted with intentional communities will, of course, recognize it. It is this fact, and the claim printed in the front of the magazine, that this story is "true—not fiction" that causes distress.

It is, of course, a very subjective story, and many facts are changed to make the story more colorful. This would simply have heightened the charm of the story, had it not been for the unfortunate combination of circumstances—the thin disguise, the claim that the story is "true", and the very unkind fabrication of anti-semitism in the community. The story should properly be read as an interesting and well written piece of fiction without basis in truth, based vaguely and intermittently (more in feeling than anything else) on personal reminiscences.

Wanda Lea

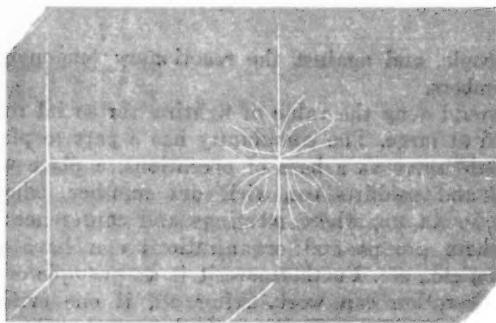
Dear Editors:

Burnsville, N. C.
My attention has been called to your September issue in which you saw fit to print a bit of phantasy purported to be truth, about a transparently disguised intentional community. Members of such a community, who have devoted themselves to the pioneering effort of living out their principles must, it seems to me, expect to be misunderstood and slandered, especially by apostates from their own midst. That you can square it with your editorial conscience to print such slanders is merely distressing.

However, what seems to me unforgivable, is your acceptance of the fiction that this group was treated with hostility by its neighbors. With the exception of one comic opera incident which occurred before the author of your article came to the community there has been no instance of violence or threat of violence. Strange as were the community's doings, and peculiar its members, our neighbors have treated us with courtesy and friendliness. Our children have attended school and have never been subjected to any of the minor indignities which your author imagined. She was a child when she was here and it is possible that her childish nightmares now seem real. You, however, as editors, owe the neighbors of this community an apology and a retraction.

E. R. Ohle, M. D.

Ed. note: The Editors printed "Childhood at Winterstar" as one person's memories of life in an intentional community just after the war. We hoped that it would help focus attention on the problem of how radicals and nonconformists can best relate their social aspirations to their daily lives. We welcome other views, either on the specific community described, or on the role of intentional communities in the struggle for a better society.



DON'T give liberation for christmas

if you want your friends and relatives to think that you are just naturally intelligent and well-informed. But if you are willing to let them in on the secret and want some people with whom to discuss the exciting new insights that appear in LIBERATION, you can get an additional present for yourself as well: any one of the following outstanding books at greatly reduced price with a one-year subscription or FREE with three gift subs.

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